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ABSTRACT

A study examined the treatment and portrayal of political parties on Soviet and American television. The content of six newscasts of "World News Tonight" and "Vremya" during June of 1984 were analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively. The overall results suggest that 15 stories (24% of the total allotted time) pertaining directly to political parties appeared on ABC while 18 stories (27% of the total allotted time) appeared on Soviet television. Evidence suggests that similarities exist in the manner in which political parties present information to media systems under exceedingly different political environments. For example, presidential candidates in the United States extol the virtues of their political party by pointing to the deficiencies and failures of the opposing party. Similarly, Soviet Communist Party leaders seek to solidify their relative position within Soviet society by pointing to the weaknesses of democratic forms of government. Results of the study suggest that while differences exist in the manner and style of political party information presented, many of the same types of stories receive attention in both countries and parties in both countries rely on the media to solidify support. An appendix provides the titles of the news stories examined in this study (with dates of telecasts and lengths of stories). (SRT)

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PORTRAYAL OF POLITICAL PARTIES BY THE TELEVISION BROADCAST MEDIA IN SINGLE AND DUAL-PARTY POLITICAL SYSTEMS:

Comparing the Soviet Union to the United States

By Robert H. Wicks

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CS 505 454

PORTRAYAL OF POLITICAL PARTIES BY THE TELEVISION BROADCAST MEDIA IN SINGLE AND DUAL-PARTY POLITICAL SYSTEMS:

Comparing the Soviet Union to the United States

The treatement and portrayal of political parties on Soviet and American television was studied. Six newscasts for common days in June of 1984 were qualitatively and quantitatively content analyzed. The news programs used were ABC World News Tonight and the Soviet evening news program Vremya.

Political parties in single and dual-party systems tend to buttress and solidify their social power by using the media in a similar fashion. Specifically, party news and information appears to receive widespread coverage in both systems for similar reasons, although editorial approaches may be strikingly different.

Results suggest that while differences exist in the manner and style of political party information presented, many of the same types of stories receive attention in both countries. Evidence suggests striking similarities exist in the manner in which political parties present information to media systems under exceedingly different political environments.

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INTRODUCTION

A variety of definitions have been provided for the term "political parties." For Downs, it is "a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election."[1] Key saw the political party as cohesion between social groups seeking a social platform.[2] Schlesinger (in Lawson) characterizes a party as "the political organization which actively and effectively engages in the competition for elective office."[3] Eldersveld summarizes the concept of parties in three ways: as "a group seeking power by winning elections; a group that processes interest-group demands; or an ideological competitor."[4]

The term "party" has a markedly different meaning in communist systems than it has in democratic systems. As Lawson points out, the definitions above seem to exclude single party systems such as the Soviet system.[5] The reason for this exclusion is understandable; the difference between a single-party system and a dual-party system is so profound that a single definition seems simplistic, general and perhaps even somewhat

imprecise. Despite this obvious limitation, Lawson has formulated a definition which appears to suit both systems. She defines a party as "an organization of individuals that seeks continuing electoral and nonelective authorization from the public (or a portion thereof), for specified representatives of that organization to exercise political power of particular government offices, claiming that such power will be exercised on behalf of that public."[6] For the sake of analysis, this definition, although limited, will be applied to the term party throughout this paper.

Common to the definitions presented is the concept of procuring political "power" through the solicitation of popular support. The Lawson definition implicitly accepts the proposition that parties seek to navigate social and economic waters at the behest of the people of the society. By carrying out the will of the people, the party is effectively capable of survival as well as self-propagation. If we refer to Eldersveld,[7] it becomes clear that his trilateral definitions interface with the Lawson definition at an abstract level. That is, while parties may differ, it seems intuitively plausible if not correct to propose that parties in single or dual-party political systems strive for social and economic power through control of political offices and positions.

If one accepts the proposition that a key mission of all political parties is the accumulation of power within a society, we might explore ways in which this power is procured and utilized. Accumulation of social power is possible by

ascertaining that individuals with ideas and ideologies compatible with party goals are offered by the party to the society as political leaders in both single and dual-party systems. Political parties in differing political systems must hurdle a different set of obstacles in the accumulation of power. But one problem common to both parties is that of communicating with the people that the party represents. As such, the mass media establishment in single and dual-party systems play a pivotal role in providing the party with an opportunity to solidify social support through communication.

Press theory tends to suggest that interaction between media and political parties is strikingly different in single and dual-party systems. Under Soviet-Totalitarian press theory, for example, loyal and orthodox party members have automatic access to the media.[8] Under libertarian press theory, anyone with adequate economic means is entitled to use the media.[9] Since political parties tend to own or control the media in single party systems, the image portrayed of the party may differ significantly from the image portrayed of parties in systems maintaining an autonomous press system. Thus press theory suggests that media ownership plays a key role in how political parties will be portrayed.

Political parties in the United States have come to rely on the media to solidify support. The Republican and Democratic parties attempt to become powerful (or maintain a base of power) through effective communication with the constituency made possible by the media. The message conveyed often compares the

virtues of one party over another. Media systems operating within single or dual-party systems therefore tend to present the comparative advantages of association with one party or another.

The thesis to be presented in this paper is that political parties in single and dual-party systems tend to buttress and solidify their social power by using the media in similar fashion. Specifically, comparative party news items appear to receive widespread coverage in both types of media systems. And a content analysis revealed that comparative party stories were the most popular type of party news and information presented in both media systems (See appendix A, pg. 23).

The second most common type of story involved media reaction to party "actors." For example, ranking party officials in the Soviet Union received media attention at will. Similarly, party leaders in the United States (and especially the president) seem able to command attention from the media. Of course, the process of seeking out "reaction" from the opposition is a practice that is non-existent within the Soviet press context.

Significant differences exist concerning the manner in which political parties are portrayed. However, striking similarities exist in the manner in which political parties present information to media systems under exceedingly different political environments. It is this issue that will be explored in this report.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The method in which the party interacts with the media is certainly of interest when evaluating means by which party strength is solidified and buttressed. Gans suggests that the American mass media are especially interested in exposing the political and social deficiencies of socialism and communism and in calling critical attention to the brutalities of dictators.[10] Lippmann pointed out that news [in a free press system] consists of "events which obtrude" and that this is anticipated by "looking for news at places where newsworthy events" are likely.[11] Lippmann said looking for news usually leads reporters to sources such as politicians, the police, public officials and the like.[12]

In the classic 1956 work, Four Theories of the Press, a set of press theories is identified. They include "authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility and the Soviet-Totalitarian" press systems. Authoritarian and Soviet-Totalitarian theory fit conveniently together in their insistence on control and careful regimentation of the press. However, the major distinction between the two is that the Soviet-Totalitarian press is owned and operated by the state while the authoritarian press is privately owned and operated.[13]

The libertarian and social responsibility theories similarly overlap since social systems supporting free press systems typically stress the need for responsibility on the part of the press.[14] The social responsibility press theory embraces most of the ideals of libertarian press system, however, it stresses a

need for the media to behave in a responsible manner under the threat of being taken over if it fails to do so.[15] Scholars such as Merrill have argued that the American press system fits most conveniently under the heading of libertarian while the Soviet system fits naturally into the Soviet-Totalitarian press theory.

News media in differing political, economic and social settings serve the society in different ways. In the United States, we view the media as an instrument of information and entertainment supported by commercial advertising.[16] We have also come to expect that news reporting is aimed at discovering truth, serves as a check on government, and meets other social needs in the information area. This libertarian press system was adopted in England and in the United States after 1688.[17] The concept was adapted from writings of Milton, Locke, Mill and the general philosophy of rationalism and natural rights.[18] Media ownership under the libertarian system is private, making party access to the public through the media a function of economic means (through ownership or advertising) or enticement through providing obtrusive information to the news media.[19]

The Soviet-Totalitarian press system is based on Marxist, Leninist and Stalinist thought with a touch of Hegel and 19th century Russian thinking.[20] The raison d'etre of the Soviet press system is to contribute to the success and continuance of the Soviet socialist system, and especially to the dictatorship of the party.[21] The media system is state-owned and closely controlled by ranking party leaders therefore providing automatic media access for members of the Politburo or Soviet Communist

Party.

In analyzing Soviet politics, difficulties arise in attempting to distinguish between the Politburo, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and the Communist Central Committee (CCC). While functional differences exist between the entities, they each tend to represent the ideals and principles of party politics in the Soviet Union. For the purpose of this analysis, they will each be considered an arm of the Soviet Communist Party sharing a homogeneous set of ideological goals.

Since broadcasting is controlled by the government, and the Soviet Union has only one party, it comes as no surprise that a large volume of information is sent directly from the political organizations to the Soviet society.[22] Soviet editors place little emphasis on new information.[23] Soviet broadcasters believe "A durable political impression should be made, [with] one item standing out and remaining in the listener's memory to stimulate action. The principal underlying characteristic is [that] a newscast is not a mirror but a magnifying glass."[24]

Libertarian press theory presumes that media gatekeepers who select from a full menu of international, national and local news may be less vulnerable to media manipulation than are their Vremya (Soviet Television Network) counterparts.[25] American editors expect newscasts to reflect reality while magnifying social, economic and political issues. A premium is also placed on providing the society with new information.[26] Political party leaders, of course, expect access to the media at certain times, such as during election years.

JUSTIFICATION

During the past two decades, television broadcasting has assumed a prominent position in many cultures around the world. A Roper study suggests a rising reliance [by Americans] on television news, coupled with a rise in perceived credibility.[27] Kruglak has proposed that the Soviet media report on the United States only when its acts coincide with those of the U.S.S.R.[28] But since Kruglak's assessment, the number of television sets in the Soviet Union has risen from five million in 1960 to more than 70 million in 1984, closing in on the one-per-household goal set by the Politburo.[29] The rapid proliferation of television during the past two decades enables the Soviet government the possibility of buttressing its influence through media manipulation.[30]

It is logical to conclude that the Politburo has an easier time gaining access to the media than do members of the Republican or Democratic parties. Nonetheless, evidence seems to support the proposition that American political parties effectively manipulate the media in much the same fashion as do their Soviet counterparts. Since conflict tends to attract media attention, American party leaders have learned to convey a sense of conflict in order to gain exposure thereby enhancing party visibility.

Franklin Roosevelt described the Democratic national headquarters in the early part of this century as "two ladies occupying one room in a Washington office building."[31] But

political parties of the 1980's have become powerful organizations, which tend to attract news coverage. As such, editors operating under libertarian or Soviet-Totalitarian press systems depend on political parties for news and information, and this relationship provides parties with considerable access to the media when operating within either type of press system.

METHODOLOGY

The data base utilized was six days of television newscasts from the American and Soviet systems during 1984. During the period selected, western and eastern block countries each held economic/political summit conferences. Media in the United States also highlighted Democratic party politics by spotlighting party efforts to persuade candidates Jesse Jackson and Senator Gary Hart to endorse the candidacy of Walter Mondale. In addition, President Reagan was encouraged by the leadership of both parties to propose a summit meeting with Soviet leaders.

A content analysis was conducted to evaluate the manner in which parties interact with the television broadcast media in single and dual-party political systems. Transcripts of Soviet and American newscasts were collected for a six-day period in June of 1984. The dates selected for analysis were June 8, 9, 12, 14, 15 and 16.[32] The videotaped Soviet newscasts were supplied by the United States Information Agency (USIA) to researchers at the College of Communication at Michigan State University in East Lansing, Michigan. Translations of the newscasts were prepared by a former citizen of the Soviet Union

who now resides in the United States. Transcripts of ABC World News Tonight for the same period were provided by the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) based in New York City.

Problems of comparison are inherent to this type of study. Specifically, all of the information provided through the Soviet media might be considered "party information." To circumvent this pitfall, news stories that either directly mentioned political parties, or ones which clearly promoted party ideals and leaders were considered information inspired by political parties. However, news stories that spoke generally of prosperity under communism, for example, were ignored. In addition, news stories concerning political parties in other countries, were also left out of this analysis. It is possible to extract and compare information from vastly different systems by limiting dimensions.

Appendix A serves as a brief summary of the political party content that appeared in the newscasts. The overall results suggest that 15 stories pertaining directly to political parties appeared on ABC while 18 stories directly concerning political parties appeared on Soviet television. Of the ABC newscasts examined, 24% of the total time allotted for news pertained directly to political parties, while 27% of the stories on Soviet television pertained or referred to the Soviet Communist Party. The average number of stories in each American newscast was ten while Soviet newscasts typically included an average of 18.5. The analysis begins with a review of the information about political parties which appeared on World News Tonight.

COVERAGE OF POLITICAL PARTIES ON AMERICAN TELEVISION

Three major issues centering on party politics were addressed by the American Broadcasting Company during the six-day period in which World News Tonight was analyzed. These major categories might be characterized as; (1) Presidential Candidates, (2) Incumbent Presidential Politics, and (3) Coercive, Persuasive and Partisan Politics.

Presidential Candidates

The series of stories receiving the greatest amount of media attention pertained to Democratic politics and the upcoming Presidential nominating convention. Five stories in a six day span focused on the efforts of Democratic leadership to unify the party after Walter Mondale had won enough delegates to claim victory. Gary Hart insisted that he was not out of the race, arguing that he might persuade uncommitted delegates to join his camp. Democratic party leadership strove for party unity as the nominating convention approached.

News anchor Peter Jennings characterized the scenario as "a storm of concern about divisiveness in the Democratic Party."[33] But the news item to follow focused on Hart's apparent willingness to acquiesce and meet with his opponent, Walter Mondale. The report also included an interview in which Senator Alan Cranston noted that an "all out battle" between Hart and Mondale, "would reduce prospects for Mondale winning the Presidency."[34]

The media in this instance may be viewed as carrying the

message to all Democrats that the party must unite despite differences. It took little time for Hart to refocus his attacks by suggesting that "the defeat of Ronald Reagan is the most important imperative of the Democratic Party."[35] News stories for the next several days focused on Mondale's search for an adequate running mate, and were laden with endorsements of Mondale from party regulars, such as George McGovern.[36]

Incumbent Presidential Politics

By virtue of his role in international and national affairs, the president has automatic access to the media. Gans discovered in a 1979 study that:[37]

> "The single individual who appears in the news most often, year after year, is the President; and normally he appears without fail in every issue of the news magazine and on virtually all television news programs."

The economic summit of western nations provided President Reagan with an opportunity to expound upon the success of his administration, and indirectly, praise the wisdom of Republican party politics. In the first of four news reports, Reagan and the other leaders at the meeting issued a "Declaration of Democratic Values" endorsing a series of democratic principles. The statement called for a "system of democracy which insures genuine choice in elections" and other democratic ideals. At the conclusion of the summit, Treasury Secretary Donald Regan reported that the Reagan Administration had "gotten most of what we wanted"[38] in reference to fiscal and budgetary matters concerning the nations represented.

Reagan and his aides often repeated the theme that fiscal conservatism had triggered an economic recovery in the United States and that the recovery was likely to carry over to the European nations. The final news report on the summit suggested that Reagan was anxious to place a permanent manned satellite in space within ten years and that the United States is prepared to stand up against the Soviets above the earth as well as in the heavens.[39]

Coercive, Persuasive and Partisan Politics

These three categories of news items will be considered collectively. Ranking party officials other than the President or a presidential candidate typically employ these devices in the interest of obtaining media access.

A series of three stories spread out over as many days indicated that leaders from both parties utilized the media to push President Reagan toward proposing a summit meeting with Soviet leadership. Senator Charles Percy of the Republican Party complained that "we haven't had a meeting for five years now. We meet regularly with our allies, we meet with other countries but we haven't met with our chief adversary."[40] Senator Howard Baker echoed Percy's sentiments by suggesting that the two nations need to get "together and talk about the general world situation because we've got to figure out some way not to blow each other up."[41]

Comments from the Democratic camp were somewhat less buffered. Congressman Tip O'Neill suggested that it is "pretty

hard to build a fence around your neighbor and throw stones at them and call them vile names and then expect them to come in and sit down with you."[42] The news stories collectively tend to suggest that party leadership is keenly aware of the inherent news value of presenting conflict. Party leaders within the Republican Party attempted to send the message to President Reagan that he should re-examine his stance on this issue. Simultaneously, the Republican senators publicly divorced themselves from stances appearing too conservative for their constituencies.

Two news stories focused on debate in the Senate on funding for the MX missile. President Reagan had asked Congress for funding to build 40 of the intercontinental missiles. Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy argued that the "MX is a missile without a mission, a weapon without a home, a bargaining chip without a negotiating table."[43] Vice-President George Bush cast the tie-breaking vote in which 21 new MX missiles would be added to the nuclear arsenal.[44]

A final story on former President Richard Nixon could not be easily placed into any category. The news item fails to cast Nixon as a spokesman for the Republicans, but rather as an elder statesman trying to make a comeback. The former President is portrayed as offering advice to the Kissinger Commission on Central America among other quasi-political duties. Comparing President Reagan to the former President, Walter Mondale asserted that "this thing is getting to the point where even Richard Nixon is starting to look good."[45]

The news stories provided Republican and Democratic leadership with an opportunity to articulate their views. Democrats were portrayed as anxious to advance the Mondale candidacy. The Republicans advanced the idea that Republican Party politics had promoted economic prosperity in the United States which would eventually spread to our allies. Republicans joined with Democrats in an effort to persuade President Reagan to reassess his position on bargaining with the Soviets. This unlikely union of sparring partners in itself became news. And the split on partisan lines over the MX question also caused the media to cover party leadership. In summary, it appears that political parties use conflict in the media to keep party members abreast of party positions while criticizing the policies of the opposition party.

COVERAGE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ON SOVIET TELEVISION

Political party issues covered on Soviet television fell into three main categories; (1) Comparative Political News Stories, (2) Economic and Political Party Achievements and News Items (3) Honors for Party Loyalty.

Comparative Political News

These stories tended to point to the inadequacies of democratic forms of government, and virtues of communist doctrine over corrupt democracies. As such, the United States and especially political leaders such as President Reagan, are portrayed as seeking conflict and confrontation with the Soviet

Union. The tone of the stories tended to be similar in nature to the tone of items on American television in which one party criticized the opposition party.

Soviet television portrayed the Senate debate on funding for the MX Missile as a ploy to rally popular support in the United States for a nuclear war with the Soviet Union. The Soviet correspondent reported "the Reagan administration is trying to develop a propaganda campaign to frighten the American people with a would-be Soviet threat and at the same time persuade the people that the U.S. might be able to win a nuclear conflict."[46] The story also suggested that the Reagan Administration was behind the development of a vaccine that will permit American soldiers to survive radiation exposure during a nuclear war.[47]

Soviet television also linked the London Economic Summit with President Reagan's campaign for a second Presidential term. "The current conference of the Big Seven is held just before the upcoming presidential elections in the United States," reported Vremya.[48] Soviet television presented an image of the United States as imperialistic toward the other nations at the summit. Vremya suggested that "the Western European economy is constantly pressured by the United States. Because of heavy military spending, the United States government has a deficit of 190 billion dollars."[49] The Soviet newscast also focused on anti-American demonstrations in which English protesters chanted "no American rockets! We need jobs, not bombs! President Reagan, take back your missiles."[50]

Economic and Communist Party Achievements

Five news stories focused on the economic achievements made possible by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Positive economic news is the mainstay of Soviet newscasts, with large blocks of time devoted to coverage of successful completion of economic goals and social programs. The story leading one Soviet newscast focused on the anticipated early completion of a Soviet icebreaker. The report explained that "completion of the new powerful atomic ice breaking ship 'Rossiya' is expected to be one year ahead of schedule."[51] The story also pointed out that the February and April meetings of the Soviet Communist Party had resulted in a decision to increase the production volume of the five year term by 33%."[52]

Another topic to receive widespread coverage was that of the Soviet Economic/Political Summit conference. Vremya presented a speech by Konstantin Chernenko in which he suggested that socialist countries have been able to "double their level of industrialization," during the past 15 years while "capitalist countries have only increased industrialization by only one third."[53] Secretary Yahruzelsky of the Polish Communist Party stressed the need for economic cooperation between communist nations to develop a good "foundation for industrialization and for improved living conditions for socialist citizens."[54] Yahruzelsky concluded his remarks with a toast to the "great Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."[55]

Honors for Party Loyalty

Several stories praised communist workers for outstanding performance and others were devoted to ceremonial functions of the Soviet Communist Party. A combine operator in the village of Sahkmara was awarded the Order of Lenin Medal and the Golden Hammer and Sickle award for his work. The Soviet correspondent explained that "our hero" has used "the most advanced techniques in farming and helps young combine operators learn to improve their work."[56] Other stories provided praise for individual or teams of workers who had either exceeded or had planned to exceed efforts of their colleagues.

ANALYSIS

This report has intended to take a qualitative look at the treatment of political parties. Simple numerical tallies and percentages have been employed to buttress theoretical arguments lodged rather than serve as empirical evidence. However recent finding in a companion quantitative study may provide context for the conclusions to be drawn shortly. The analysis is based on 64 stories that appeared on Soviet television and 32 stories that appeared on American television. These data were generated by Michigan State University Researchers in conjunction with an eight country comparison of news in western, socialist and thrid world countries.[57] The following analysis considers not only stories dealing directly with party politics but also with politics in general.

The format of the evening news program in the Soviet Union

appears similar in nature to that which we are accustomed in the United States. Due to the non-commercial nature of the Soviet broadcast system, content is strikingly different. Criticism of Soviet politics is virtually non-existent on Soviet television while criticism of political leaders and political parties is a major facet of American television news.

Forty percent of the Soviet stories coded dealt primarily with politics. A small portion (16%) dealt with domestic politics while nearly half (47%) dealt with politics involving the Soviet Union and another country. A large majority (56%) of the political stories concerned the politics of two countries other than the Soviet Union. More than half of the political stories (53%) made mention of executive action. Nearly half of the stories (47%) dealt with relations or diplomacy. Nearly one quarter of all stories (27%) were critical of foreign governments or political parties.[58] [Note that percentages do not total 100% because certain stories fit into more than one category]

A number of stories dealt with elections (17%). Of course, election information frequently portrayed American parties divided on issues and candidates. Demonstrations and protests were represented in nearly the same number of stories (16%).[59] Typically, these stories focused again the inability of Western European and American political systems to provide a measure of social stability.

Turning to coverage of politics on American television, nearly one third (30%) of the stories dealt with politics. Of that number, exactly one fourth (25%) dealt with domestic

politics. Nearly one third of the stories (32%) pertained to political news concerning the United States and a foreign country. Political news between two foreign countries accounted for the largest amount of political news (44%).[60]

A large portion of the stories dealt with executive actions (41%). Nearly as many stories (38%) dealt with criticism of government with a large proportion levelling criticism toward the American political system. One quarter of the stories (25%) dealt with demonstrations and protests. One quarter (25%) also dealt with relations and diplomacy. The media generally portrayed the party in power in the United States as mostly incorrect or incapable.[61]

These quantitative data corraborate the thesis that has served as a theoretical proposition--that under both autonomous and state run press systems, parties utilize (or attempt to utilize) the media in their quest for power. Despite differences in ownership and philosophy concerning media usage, evidence indicates that political parties interact with the media in a somewhat similar fashion.

Under a libertarian press system, political parties must lure the media with promises of conflict, newness, presidential politics or the "horse-race" elements of an election year. In several cases, the media were used by party leaders to send messages to colleagues within the same party. Thus the media provides a forum to party leadership when the message is new, unusual or obtrusive.

The President can promote the image of the party to which he

is affiliated by virtue of his pervasive role in the political arena. As an actor with automatic access, the president enjoys the opportunity to communicate with the public and other party members by virtue of this stature. Admittedly, press systems owned by the government may manipulate the message far more than those which are privately owned. Yet it seems that political parties operating under both systems utilize similar techniques in shoring up strength.

Consider the parallels. Presidential candidates (in the United States) extol the virtues of their political party by pointing to the deficiencies and failures of the opposing party. Similarly, Soviet Communist Party leaders seek to solidify their relative position within Soviet society by pointing to the weaknesses of democratic forms of government.

The power of an incumbent president is similar to the power of the Soviet Communist Party when it disseminates information about economic and communist party achievements to the society. Of course, Soviet media have little (if any) opportunity to question the information provided. Nevertheless, American presidents enjoy near automatic access to the media, and are capable of building (or destroying) confidence in the party in power through carefully constructed speeches and media events.

Differences surfaced in comparing the last two categories. Certainly, press systems in the United States have little interest in providing a forum for political parties to honor members for party loyalty. And similarly, we would not expect to find coercive, persuasive and partisan stories (according to our

definitions) in the Soviet broadcast media. It is perhaps in this area where the two systems are most dissimilar in terms of political party portrayal.

Certainly other factors play major roles in allowing parties to procure and maintain social power. However, the mass media, clearly offer political parties an essential forum to address the public. Although the means by which media are used in single and dual-party systems is strikingly different, parties have clearly come to rely on the media for solidifying support. And they appear to rely on many of the same devices in attempts to capture the attention of the audience.

A mutual dependency has thus evolved between the media and political parties. And through this dependency, American political parties have learned to gain access by using techniques similar to their counterparts who are blessed with automatic access to the media.

APPENDIX A
ABC World News Tonight:

June 8, 1984
Democratic Presidential Candidate Gary Hart agrees to meet with Walter Mondale to mend fences. Evidence suggests that Democrats are pushing for the meeting. (25 lines)

Economic Summit in London. Western leaders issue a "Declaration of Democratic Values" statement. (41 lines)

Reagan spokesman James Baker reports that the American Economic Recovery will lead to global economic prosperity. (5 lines)

June 9, 1984
Economic Summit in London. Reagan reports that economic recovery in the United States will lead to world economic recovery. (36 lines)

Economic Summit in London. Reagan aids report that the President "gotten most of what he wanted." (26 lines)

Gary Hart shifts his attack from Mondale to Reagan and begins to couch his comments in terms such as Democratic Party unity. (30 lines)

June 12, 1984
President Reagan is pressured by members of his own party (Senators Howard Baker and Charles Percy) to consider meeting with the Soviets. (29 lines)

Former Senator George McGovern endorses Mondale for the Democratic Presidential nomination. (5 lines)

Profile of former President Richard Nixon. Mondale takes the opportunity to compare Nixon with Reagan as representatives of the Republican Party. (47 lines)

June 14, 1984
Members of the Republican continue to place pressure on President Reagan to set a date for a Soviet-American summit. (35 lines)

Senator argue along party lines for the MX missile in heated Senate debate. (21 lines)

June 15, 1984
Pressure from both sides of the aisle is brought to bear on Reagan concerning the scheduling of a Soviet-American summit. House Speaker O'Neill and Senator Howard Baker call upon the President to meet with the Soviets. (35 lines)

APPENDIX A (Continued)
ABC World News Tonight

June 15, 1984
Vice President George Bush casts the tie-breaking vote to get approval of funding for the MX missile project supported by Reagan and the Republicans. (6 lines)

Mondale meets with possible running mates. (28 lines)

June 16, 1984
Mondale continues his search for a running mate for the Democratic ticket. Hart and Jesse Jackson refuse to concede defeat, however their attacks on Mondale have subsided in the interest of Democratic Party unity. (34 lines)

VREMYA (Soviet Evening News)

June 8, 1984
Soviet Communist Party reports that Baltic Plant workers have decided to complete their five year plan early. Ice breaker "Rossiya" will completed one year ahead of schedule. (30 lines)

Soviet position on United States budget for military arms. Reagan administration charged with aggression. (24 lines)

Soviet report that Reagan is using the London Economic Summit to promote himself prior to the upcoming election. Reagan is charged with placing weapons (for use against the Soviets) on European soil. (20 lines)

June 9, 1984
Visit to USSR of Romanian Communist Party leader. (6 lines)

The London Economic Summit concludes. Summary focusing on anti-Reagan demonstrations, the U.S. deficit and general dissension among leaders of the western world. (21 lines)

June 12, 1984
Opening of the Eastern block economic summit. Party leaders introduced. (30 lines)

Reagan Administration charged with navigating an aggressive in foreign policy. (17 lines)

June 14, 1984
The Eastern block economic summit conference continues with a review of common party objectives. (40 lines)

Speech by Comrade Chernenko of the success of the conference. United States is charged with military aggression. (50 lines)

Appendix A (Continued)
VREMYA

June 14, 1984
Speech by the First Secretary of the Polish Communist Party (Yahruzelsky) in which the United States government is charged with attempted world domination. (44 lines)

Chernenko meets with the First Secretary of the East German Communist Party to discuss American weapons located in West Germany. (18 lines)

June 15, 1984
Report of a session of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, Meeting of the Politburo in Tbilisi, and acknowledgment of the anniversary of the birth of former Communist Party leader, Yuri Andropov. (14 lines)

Follow up report on the Easter block Communist Party Summit meeting. A tribute to the success of the conference. (24 lines)

National delegation from Columbia meets with Soviet Party leadership. (9 lines)

June 16, 1984
Communist Central Committee offers congratulations to Soviet workers on their performance. Decisions made at the 26th Congress of the Communist Party will be implemented. (13 lines)

A member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party receives an award for his contributions to the goals of the society. (22 lines)

Report on military arms in space. President Reagan is charged with failing to cooperate on arranging a meeting with Soviet leadership. Reagan administration charged with lying to the American people and deceiving the nations of the world. (24 lines)

Communist Party leaders angered with Reagan Administration over the practice launch of an MX missile. (6 lines)

ENDNOTES

1 Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy, (New York: Harper and Row, 1957) p. 25.

2 V.O. Key, Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964) p. p.165.

3 Kay Lawson, The Comparative Study of Political Parties, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976) p. 3.

4 Samuel J. Eldersveld, Political Parties In American Society, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1982) p. 8.

5 Lawson, Comparative Study of Parties, p. 3.

6 Ibid.

7 Eldersveld, Political Parties, p. 8.

8 Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson & Wilbur Schramm, Four Theories Of The Press, (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1956) pp. 131-135.

9 Ibid., p. 70.

10 Herbert J. Gans, Deciding What's News, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

11 Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion, (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1922).

12 Ibid.

13 See for example: Siebert et. al., Four Theories, p. 2., John C. Merrill, Global Journalism: A Survey of the World's Mass Media, (New York: Longman, 1983) p. 27.

14 Merrill, Global Journalism, p. 24.

15 See for example: Siebert, et. al., Four Theories, and Merrill, Global Journalism.

16 Siebert, et. al., Four Theories, p. 50.

17 Ibid., p. 42.

18 Ibid., p. 43.

19 Ibid., p. 7.

20 Ibid.

21 Find cite

22 L. John Martin and Anju Grover Chaudhary, Comparative Mass Media Systems, (New York: Longman, Inc., 1983) pp. 167-186.

23 Merrill, Global Journalism, p.90-93.

24 Ibid., p. 24.

25 Kitty Weaver, Russia's Future: The Communist Education of Soviet Youth, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981) pp. 147-157.

26 John C. Merrill and Ralph Lowenstein, Media, Messages, and Men, (New York: David McKay Company, 1971) pg. 22.

27 Burns W. Roper, "Changing Public Attitudes Toward Television and other Mass Media 1959-1976," (New York: Television Information Office, May 1977).

28 Theodore Kruglak, The Two Faces of Tass, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962) p. 146.

29 Merrill, Global Journalism, p. 96.

30 Martin, Comparative Mass Media Systems, pg. 124.

31 Key, Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups, p.322.

32 Transcripts of newscasts of World News Tonight were provided by the American Broadcasting Company. The main Soviet newscast is entitled Vremya and is presented at 9:00 p.m. daily. It runs for 30 minutes and is repeated the following morning. Soviet newscasts were recorded by the United States Information Agency (USIA) and supplied to researchers associated with the College of Communications Arts and Science at Michigan State University. Corresponding newscasts provided by the American Broadcasting Company were utilized so that common stories appearing in both Soviet and American newscasts could be analyzed.

33 ABC, "World News Tonight," 8 June 1984, Peter Jennings.

34 Ibid., Alan Cranston.

35 ABC, "World News Tonight," 9 June 1984, Gary Hart.

36 ABC, "World News Tonight," 12 June 1984.

37 Gans, Deciding What's News, pg. 9.

38 Ibid., Donald Regan.

39 Ibid., President Reagan.

40 ABC, "World News Tonight," 12 June 1984, Sen. Charles Percy.

41 Ibid., Sen. Howard Baker.

42 ABC, "World News Tonight," 15 June 1984, Sen. Tip O'Neill.

43 ABC, "World News Tonight," 14 June 1984, Sen. Edward Kennedy.

44 ABC, "World News Tonight," 15 June 1984, Peter Jennings.

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ABC, "World News Tonight," 12 June 1984, Walter Mondale.

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Vremya, "Soviet 9:00 p.m. news," 8 June 1984.

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Vremya, "Soviet 9:00 p.m. news," 9 June 1984.

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Vremya, 8 June 1984.

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